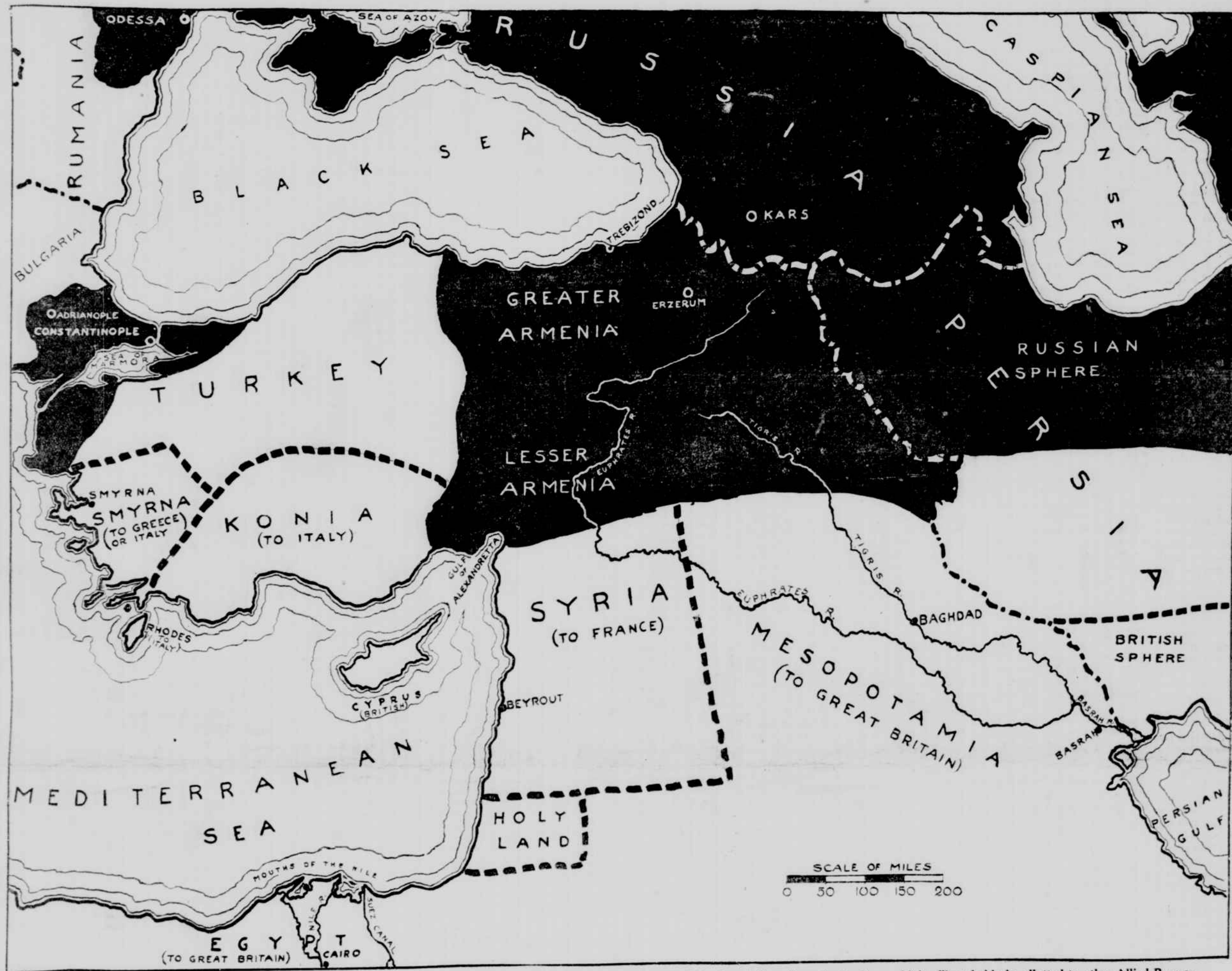


RUSSIA'S NEW WINDOWS ON THE SEA



The black areas in what was the Turkish Empire show Russian territorial gains. The white areas enclosed within dotted lines show the territory which will probably be allotted to other Allied Powers.

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From the very outset of the conflict, the Near East, and seated at Cairo and Port Said, Great Britain could see Russian advance to the Gulf of Alexandretta. Moreover, between Petrograd and London there had been a partition of spheres, which assigned Mesopotamia and Southern Persia to the British and brought about a liquidation of old rivalries quite comparable to the famous Anglo-French agreement of 1904, which marked the beginning of the new phase in European history leading straight to the present conflict.

Constantinople Vital to Russia.

The progress of the Great War has demonstrated how essential to Russian safety is the possession of the Straits. When Turkey entered the war Russia was automatically cut off from her allies save through the ports of Archangel and Vladivostok, closed by ice for nearly half the year. While the Turk barred the southern gate at the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles, the German held the northern portal in the Baltic.

It was to this isolation that is to be ascribed the terrible Russian disaster of the Dunajec a year and a half ago, a disaster that would have been avoided had France and Britain been able to munition their ally, whose armies, still victorious, collapsed through lack of ammunition. For Russia the Turkish incident was more costly than all else in the struggle, and as long as the German Emperor holds both the main gates to Russia the situation must endure. Not until Russia acquires an exit on the open sea can she, in fact, be independent of German will, or escape the independent of German purpose which has been revealed in the past.

Accordingly, there has been made perfectly clear to the whole world the Russian determination to possess Constantinople. Once the Czar is seated on either side of the Straits the Black Sea becomes a Russian lake; Northern Asia Minor, held on the east at Erzerum and Trebizond, on the west at the Scutari and Bigha peninsulas, will become in reality a Russian protectorate.

To this purpose France and Britain have

bowled. France long ago discarded the policy which led Napoleon III to ally himself with Britain for the Crimean War and left France without Russian aid in the Franco-Prussian War. Britain, equally influenced by the German menace, has made a similar surrender, casting the Beaconsfield policy into the waste basket. Italian and Russian purposes have long ago been reconciled, and the downfall of the Central Powers will infallibly be accompanied by the conquest of Constantinople by the Slav and his permanent establishment on the foundations of the Byzantine Empire.

Turkey Nearly Wiped Out.

But it is not merely the possession of Constantinople by the Slav that has been provided for in agreements between the enemies of Germany. The wellnigh complete extinction of Turkish independence is another and even more far-reaching circumstance. To-day there exist in all the Allied capitals maps on which are drawn the lines of the future in Asia Minor, provided that the Allies win the war in Europe. Possessed to-day of an empire three times as large as France or Germany, the Turk is to-morrow to be restricted to a few thousand square miles in the heart of Asia Minor, the ancient home of the Osmanli, and Russian, French, Italian and British protectorates are to cover the balance, save for the possible erection of an internationally regulated state about Jerusalem.

The most interesting of all these spheres is naturally the Russian, which is by all odds the most valuable. To the Slav is to fall the small fragment of European Turkey, with Adrianople, unless he chooses to purchase Bulgarian alliance at the present moment by the proffer of that portion of Thrace to the Enos-Midia line which belonged to Bulgaria for a few weeks after the First Balkan War. South of the Straits the two peninsulas, which approach Europe, the Scutari, facing Constantinople, and Bigha, facing Gallipoli, are to be Russian.

But in addition Russia has marked out a great sphere stretching from the Caucasus to the Gulf of Alexandretta, straight across the whole peninsula of Asia Minor, and including all the lands peopled by the Armenians, the Greater Armenia, about Erzerum and the Lesser Armenia in the Amanus Mountains and the Plain of Adana. The terrible massacres of Ar-

menians in recent months—the deliberate attempt of the Turk to exterminate the Armenian race—have brought complete agreement in all the Allied nations that Christian populations shall not again be returned to Osmanli rule.

Alexandretta's Value.

In acquiring the Gulf of Alexandretta Russia will gain a splendid naval and commercial base, will acquire that section of the Bagdad railroad which extends from the Cilician Gates in the Taurus to the Valley of the Upper Euphrates. And by using the upper reaches of this river she can push a new railroad down from the Caucasus through Erzerum to the Mediterranean. Only the British possession of Cyprus, which faces this Gulf, will in any measure weaken the value of the position from a naval point of view, and if Britain should, as has been suggested, cede Cyprus to Greece, the Russian position would be still better.

On the map it will be seen that the Russian plan will stretch a long, wide arm straight down from the present Russian territory to the Mediterranean, and the hand will hold the shores of the beautiful Gulf of Alexandretta, one of the most important commercial bases of the future in the Mediterranean.

Allotments by Square Miles and Population. The statistics of the territory that will thus fall to Russia if the Allies win the war are as follows, the names being those of the Turkish provinces or vilayets:

| EUROPE. | | |
|--|---------|-------------|
| | Area. | Population. |
| Constantinople | 1,505 | 1,200,000 |
| Chatalia | 750 | 130,000 |
| Adrianople | 8,645 | 620,000 |
| Europe | 10,900 | 1,900,000 |
| ASIA. | | |
| Scutari | 3,600 | 220,000 |
| Bigha | 2,500 | 130,000 |
| Adana | 15,500 | 400,000 |
| Sivas | 24,000 | 1,100,000 |
| Erzerum | 19,000 | 650,000 |
| Karput | 12,700 | 550,000 |
| Diabekr | 15,000 | 450,000 |
| Bitlis | 10,500 | 400,000 |
| Van | 15,250 | 400,000 |
| Mosul | 35,000 | 500,000 |
| Zor (part) | 6,100 | 25,000 |
| Trebizond | 16,750 | 1,275,000 |
| Asia | 175,900 | 6,100,000 |
| Total for Europe and Asia: Area, 186,800; population, 8,000,000. | | |
| Of this area, actually just about equal | | |

to that of Spain, something less than a third may be included in a semi-independent Armenian state under Russian protection and including all or portions of the vilayets of Karput, Sivas, Adana and Erzerum, with certain other fringes of territory. But even if Armenia obtains this measure of unity its political destinies will manifestly remain in Russian hands. How many Armenians will survive the terrible Turkish massacres still continuing remains another and disquieting problem.

Asia Minor's Future.

Such is the Russian claim to Turkish estates. Roughly summarized, it includes Constantinople, Adrianople, both shores of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus, with the northern shore of the Sea of Marmora and its islands, together with all of Armenia; Kurdistan, and possession of both shores of the deep Gulf of Alexandretta, the point where the Bagdad railroad approaches the Mediterranean. Unquestionably this bay will in due time become the terminus of a great Russian railroad striking inland across the headwaters of the Euphrates to the slopes of the Caucasus and thence by tunnel under this chain to European Russia.

By contrast with the Russian claims, those of France, Italy and Britain are modest in the extreme. France is to have all of Syria, from the Gulf of Alexandretta to Palestine, a region having an area a little more than half of that of France; that is, 110,000 square miles and a population of nearly 3,500,000. Beirut, Aleppo, Damascus, Antioch and Homs are to fall to the French. In this region the French now have great interests; they own the chief railroads, the docks at Beirut and they have long had political rights in the Lebanon. The people of the French sphere are not Turks, but Arabs; they have long sought to escape from Turkish rule, and French colonial experiences in Arab North Africa will aid France in her great task here.

The New French Colony's Borders.

Roughly speaking, this new French colony, will extend from the Mediterranean to the Arabian desert and the west bank of the Euphrates. It will touch the Holy Land on the south and the Russian sphere on the north, not far from Alexandretta. It is conceivable that, if an international

or Zionist state in the Holy Land proves impossible, Jerusalem will also fall to the French. But this remains a matter for future discussion.

As for Great Britain, she is to have Mesopotamia, with the two vilayets of Basra and Bagdad, having an area of above 100,000 square miles and a population of over 1,500,000. Here again the people are Arabs, not Turks. In addition, the Turkish possessions along the Red Sea will come under British control, although it is generally expected that the British, for obvious religious difficulties, will abstain from all effort to take Mecca and will content themselves with recognizing some local sheriff. Egypt the British have already annexed.

Italy's Portion.

The Italian share remains somewhat obscure. It is certain that the Italians are to have the whole south shore of Asia Minor from their present seat in Rhodes to the Russian sphere in the Gulf of Alexandretta, they are also to extend inland far enough to the north, taking all of the vilayet of Konia, with an area of 40,000 square miles and a population of slightly more than a million. But it is also asserted on good authority that Italy is to have the vilayet of Smyrna, with an area of 26,000 square miles and a population of 250,000.

This province was offered to the Greeks a year ago, when the Allies sought to enlist the Hellenic Kingdom in the fight to save Serbia. Venizelos eagerly accepted the offer, which would have reunited more than 1,500,000 Greeks to Athens and restored the ancient Hellenic hold upon the mainland of Asia Minor. But King Constantine rejected the bargain, refusing Cyprus also, with its 350,000 Greeks.

Greece Left Out.

Unless all signs fail Greece will not have a second chance to acquire Smyrna, and the best evidence available points either to the ultimate establishment of Italian rule here as well as in Konia or else the continuance of Turkish rule on the west coast of the Aegean. If the Italian claim is honored, then Italy will have a colony containing nearly 65,000 square miles and more than 3,500,000 people. She will have the richest portion of Asia Minor in her hands, but she will have a very grave

racial problem growing out of the fact that the larger portion of the people in this great new colony will be Greeks desirous of being permitted to join their political fortunes to those of the Greeks of the independent kingdom beyond the Aegean. In addition to her possessions on the mainland, Italy will certainly keep Rhodes and probably the Dodecanesus, the group of Aegean islands taken during the Tripolitan War and occupied ever since. Here, again, the people are Greek, and their hostility to their Italian masters is bound to be permanent.

Brussa the New Turkish Capital.

It remains to mention the balance of Asia Minor, which may be left to the Turk, at least temporarily. Excluding Smyrna, which will fall to Italy, or conceivably to Greece, there remain the vilayets of Brussa, Angora and Castamuni, with certain other parings, having in all an area of something more than 70,000 square miles and a population of less than 4,000,000. If the Osmanli keeps Smyrna, his remnant will contain a little less than 100,000 square miles and about 6,500,000 people. This last is the maximum his foes mean to leave him out of an empire before the war containing more than 700,000 square miles and more than 21,000,000 people. Once more his capital is to be at Brussa, and his European and Arabian empires will come to a permanent end.

To Warm Water at Last.

But it is the Russian phase of the partition of Turkey which is the most interesting. By taking Constantinople and the shores of the Straits, Russia will acquire the exit to warm water that she desired. But by taking both Armenia and approaching the Mediterranean at Alexandretta, Russia will actually cut off Asia Minor from the rest of the Continent, and it is hardly too much to believe that some future day will see the Russian absorption of any morsel of territory left to the Turk. In this way Russia would acquire an unbroken land approach to the Straits and the whole south shore of the Black Sea. As to the British, French and Italian spheres, all save perhaps the French may well be regarded by the Slav as temporary dispersals of territories destined to fall at last under his control, when the hour comes to restore the Byzantine Empire under Russian control.